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A GREEN MOUNTAIN BOY
BORN AND BRED



CARROLL SMALLEY PAGE

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FOREWORD.

A campaign for the office of United States Senator ought to be waged on a high plane. Believing that their case is clear if fully presented to the people of Vermont, the authors of this booklet have here presented Senator Page's constructive legislative record; his position, both by his votes and by his spoken words, on many important measures; some arguments for his re-election at this critical time in our nation's history, and the tributes from some of his associates as to his influence in Congress.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Carroll Smalley Page is a native of Vermont, having been born in Westfield in Orleans county. At the age of three years he came to Hyde Park, which has since been his home. Here he has built up a business which has given him an international reputation. Here, and elsewhere in his native state, every dollar of his property is invested. What he has done for Vermont in a business way is just the thing that counts in making Vermont the kind of a state we all want it to be.

In 1869, at the age of 26 years, he began an almost continuous career of public service, by representing Hyde Park in the Legislature. He was re-elected for the succeeding term and in 1874 represented Lamoille county in the Senate. For 18 consecutive years—from 1872 to 1890—he was a member of the Republican state committee, and its chairman for the last four years. He was twice a delegate to Republican national conventions, being chairman of the Vermont delegation in the 1912 convention. From 1884 to 1888 he was Savings Bank examiner of Vermont, and Governor from 1890 to 1892. He was the first Governor to advocate the Australian ballot law, the weekly payment of wages in money by corporations, the abolition of railroad passes, and progressive child labor legislation, all of which have since been incorporated into our Statutes.

On Oct. 21, 1908, he was elected by the Legislature to the United States Senate for a term of two years, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Redfield Proctor. Two years later he was re-elected for the full term of six years, receiving at this time the vote of every Democrat in the Legislature.

SENATOR PAGE'S RECORD.

His record is an open book, and that book is the Congressional Record. Here one may find his votes on all the important questions that have been under discussion in Congress in the past eight years, with illuminating remarks or carefully prepared speeches as the occasion warranted. He never dodged the responsibility of voting on any roll call. He always voted according to the dictates of his own conscience and his best judgment. Here are a few instances of his position on specific measures:

He voted "Yes" on the bill establishing parcel post, the passage of which reduced the cost of living for rich and poor alike by lowering the transportation charges on all kinds of products.

He opposed Canadian reciprocity and spoke against it in the Senate, believing it would be disastrous to the agricultural interests of Vermont.

He voted "Yes" on the bill to establish a bureau for the welfare of children and women laborers, a measure to make life worth living for every juvenile and woman wage earner.

He voted "Yes" for the bill permitting the President to put on the free list such articles as were controlled by monopolies, thereby antagonizing the powerful trusts and their army of paid lobbyists at the national capital.

He strongly supported the Child Labor bill, the latest measure for elevating the conditions of toiling childhood.

Vermont dairymen always found him voting right in regard to oleomargarine. He strenuously opposed all efforts to allow the oleomargarine dealer to color his product so as to resemble butter, which has been the chief contention of the Vermont farmer.

He has had a potential influence in the committee on Indian Affairs and has persistently fought from the first the hundreds of bills which if passed would have unjustly deprived the red man of his property. The Indians regard him as their true friend.

He voted "No" on the motion to strike out that portion of the Conservation bill that gave the Government the right to conserve the resources of the Connecticut river. This was a deliberate attempt on the part of certain powerful interests to cripple the conservation system. Senator Page believed in saving the God-given resources of New England for the people of that prosperous section and their children's children.

He voted for the Dillingham Immigration bill, a far-reaching measure that offered the proper solution of one of the most complex questions now before Congress and the nation.

He supported the bill providing free tolls for American ships using the Panama canal in the coastwise trade, believing in encouraging the development of our merchant marine and hastening the day of return to its former supremacy on the seven seas.

He voted "Yes" on the amendment to the Agricultural bill appropriating \$25,000 to publish a full report of the Commission on Country Life, one of President Roosevelt's most popular and far-reaching measures.

In the discussion of that part of the Post Office appropriation bill relating to good roads, Senator Page advocated taking the Postal Savings deposits—then some \$20,000,000—and loaning the fund to the extent of \$300 per mile, on a 2 per cent basis, to those sections who wished to borrow it for a highway fund. He said he believed that the time had come when the Federal government ought in some way to stimulate road building, and he believed this was the most practical way in which to extend Federal aid. This was a very important contribution towards the good roads movement.

He opposed the Rural Credits bill, an administration measure only passed by the whip and spur of party expediency, and which even many Eastern Democrats opposed on the floor of Congress. Senator Page considered this absolutely hostile to the interests of Vermont because it would exempt from taxation the investments of the money lender and transfer the burden to the back of the farmer. Every member of the Vermont delegation stood with him on this measure, and not a single Republican Senator east of Illinois and Michigan voted for the bill. Many of the Vermont papers, including both the Rutland Herald and the St. Johnsbury Caledonian, commended Senator Page for opposing this bill.

In the debate on the hide and leather sections of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill Senator Page took a most active part, fighting a long and hard battle against the hide trust, which he finally won.

As a member of the committee on Naval Affairs he has stood for a preparedness policy that was neither of a make-shift nature or niggardly in his appropriations. He voted "No" on an amendment to the Naval appropriations bill reducing the cost of our battleships from six million to four and one-half million dollars, later in that session supporting the amendment that provided for the construction of two first-class battleships instead of one. He favored the main provisions of the Naval appropriations bill that recently became a law, voting "Yes" on its final passage, July 21, 1916.

He opposed an amendment to the Agricultural bill whose passage would have crippled the splendid efficiency of our forestry service by reducing its appropriation more than \$4,000,000. His record will show that he has always consistently favored our national conservation policy.

On several occasions he advocated Federal aid for the Lake Champlain waterway, declaring it was not only a feasible project, but that its completion would greatly stimulate the trade of the Eastern states, as well as give an impetus to foreign commerce.

In supporting the measure to erect a memorial to Commodore McDonough, the hero of the battle of Plattsburg, on the shores of Lake Champlain, he paid one of the finest tributes to Vermont's contribution of her sons and daughters to other states ever heard on the floors of Congress.

He has been a true friend of the old soldier. His efforts in securing special pensions for Vermont soldiers, their widows and children, have been most efficient and successful.

Senator Page has always fought for protection to American industries, particularly the protection of the products of the Vermont farm, the Vermont quarry and the Vermont factory.

He voted "Yes" on the bill that provided for injuries to employes engaged in interstate commerce.

He secured the passage of legislation making a liberal appropriation favorable to the Morgan horse.

The College Extension bill, under which county agents are now working, was first introduced as a part of Senator Page's Vocational bill, our junior Senator thus blazing the way for this great measure which is of such lasting benefit to every American farmer.

His committee assignments are considered as good and strong as those of any man in the Senate. They include these important committees: Agriculture and Forestry, Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Indian Affairs, Interoceanic Canals, Naval Affairs, Printing, Transportation and Sale of Meat Products (chairman). He is always prompt at committee meetings, where his vigorous work in killing unwise legislation and his ripe judgment in discussion are of the greatest value. It is well understood by everyone conversant with the methods of handling national legislation that the real work of the Senate is done in committee and not on the floor.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

The great constructive work done by Senator Page upon this important measure would of itself alone entitle him to a reelection even if he had accomplished nothing else in eight busy years at Washington. This great system of vocational education, under Federal guidance and with Federal aid, has been endorsed by Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, by the American Federation of Labor, and by practically all the leading educators of this country.

In regard to Senator Page's part in this great work we quote the words of a Democratic colleague, Senator Thomas of Colorado:

"The Senator from Vermont, whose child this bill unquestionably is, and who, as declared by the Senator from Georgia, is entitled to the great merit of having framed it, introduced it, lived with it and brought it to its present moment of fruition. It is a great work, and a monument to the Senator's career which I am sure will keep his memory green and fresh in the hearts of a grateful posterity."

PIONEER LEGISLATION.

The original Page Vocational bill which was the first bill of its kind to ever pass either branch of Congress, involved appropriations from the national treasury aggregating nearly \$15,000,000 annually. It was referred to the committee on Agriculture and Forestry, of which Senator Page was a member. Under the infallible rule of the Senate which promotes a man because of seniority, Senator Page will automatically become chairman of this committee whenever the Republican party returns to power. In this position he can be of more real service to Vermont than in any other place. It was the position occupied by Senator Proctor at the time of his death.

This great constructive measure, the Vocational Education bill, regarded by all as the child of Senator Page, supplements, by conforming to the changed and growing conditions of our country, that other great welfare measure, the Morrill Agricultural act, introduced and passed some fifty years ago by that great Vermont statesman, Justin S. Morrill.

Three Vermont Customs Considered.

Vermont from the days of Ethan Allen to the present day has stood out among the other states as an individual commonwealth, with her own problems and policies, not one of the crowd.

1

THE MOUNTAIN RULE.

Much may be said in favor of choosing the best men wherever they live. Yet in the long run the time-honored custom of having both sides of the State equally represented, works for impartiality and for equality of representation. It reduces truly factional fights in the State by half. It gave us Foot, Collamer, Morrill, Edmunds and Proctor.

2

THE CUSTOM OF RETAINING THE MEN WHO SERVE US IN THE SENATE.

The beneficial results of this custom have been numerous. Better men could afford to take the office because it offered some assurance of permanency. Greater care was exercised

in making the choice because it was a choice for a long service. The men chosen gained pre-eminence by reason of having a longer experience than Senators from other states, and by seniority on committees attained important chairmanships which gave them great power and Vermont great eminence. When a Senator ended his career, under this rule, the ground was automatically cleared for entrance of the very ablest men. Edmunds and Morrill were drafted. It will be impossible to draft young men of great ability if the field is to be opened only to such aspirants as have the standing political machine or the money necessary to warrant them in attempting to oust an incumbent of the senatorial office. Most important of all, this rule removes men once elected to the United States Senate from the distraction of petty politics, leaving them free to do important work in Washington.

3

THE CUSTOM OF SENDING TO WASHINGTON MEN WHO HAVE AT LEAST LIVED THEIR ACTIVE LIVES IN VERMONT.

This principle of "Vermont for Vermonters" insures us of being represented by truly representative men who understand our desires, needs and standards of achievement. Its maintenance, also, will insure us against such situations as the notorious Addicks brought on in Delaware, when he went to that state a number of years ago and attempted unsuccessfully with his millions to buy the United States Senatorship.

BISMARCK ON LENGTH OF SERVICE.

It is a well-recognized fact that Vermont's prestige in Congress has been due to the fact that her public servants have been kept in the public service. A generation ago this was emphasized by the Iron Chancellor in the following remarkable conversation, which may be seen today framed on the walls of the Windsor public library:

In the year 1878 three American gentlemen were visiting Prince Bismarck at his residence at Friedrichsruhe. In the course of conversation Bismarck said to them:

"I would like to give you my idea of a republic. I think you will grant that I am somewhat of a student of political history. My idea of a republic is a little state in the north of your great country—the smallest of the New England states—Vermont."

One of the Americans said: "Not Massachusetts?"

"Ah! No," he answered. "Vermont is small in area, of slow growth, has a larger percentage of school attendance than any other state, is not devoted to manufactures; nor so much to farming as to make its interests political; owes nothing to the general government, but on the contrary is a creditor to the general government for Civil War expenses, and aims primarily and purely at the educational and religious evolution of each individual. Is it not true," he added, "that **this little state keeps its Senators and Representatives in office term after term, until they die?**" And he proceeded to speak of Collamer, Morrill and Edmunds.

One of the Americans rose and said, "Your Excellency, two of us are graduates of the University of Vermont, and one of us claims that state as his birthplace."

Bismarck himself rose and said,

"Gentlemen, you should be most proud of your inheritance. To be a son of Vermont is glory enough for the greatest citizen."

SENATOR LODGE'S TRIBUTE TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF SENATOR PAGE.

We are glad to present herewith a letter written by one of the leaders of the Senate, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, in reply to a communication from Hon. Clark King of Montpelier, who wrote Senator Lodge asking him what Senator Page had done for Vermont.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

Washington, D. C., July 17, 1916.

My dear Sir:

I have received your letter of July 14. You will understand of course, that it would not be fitting for me, a Senator from another state, to take sides in a contest between Republicans, all members of my own party, in Vermont. But in reply to questions you ask about Senator Page it is entirely proper for me to say that I have known Senator Page ever since he entered the Senate eight years ago. He and I are friends, and my relations with him have always been most pleasant. He is recognized by all his colleagues as a most hardworking, capable Senator, very industrious and careful, a very valuable and diligent member of all the committees to which he belongs, and he has taken a conspicuous part in all tariff discussions since he entered the Senate. He is, however, particularly identified with the bill for vocational education, a measure of the utmost importance to which he gave many months of careful study. Having framed the bill he then, by his persistence and determination, finally carried it through the Senate. Although it failed in the House, this does not in the least detract from the deserved distinction which Senator Page earned by his admirable work and by his championship of this important measure. His ability and activity in the work of the Senate are unquestioned by any one who is familiar with that body.

Very truly yours,

Dillingham on Page

No man in the United States Senate has been more regular in attendance, more devoted to his work, and more painstaking in the discharge of his duties, than Senator Page. He has brought to the Senate all of those characteristic activities of mind and temperament which gave him leadership in the business and political circles of Vermont.

His general characteristics can best be described, perhaps, by referring to a recent conversation had with a distinguished Democratic Senator who made this remark:—"My observation has been that the Senate is made up of two classes of men, those who feel it their duty to speak on every question but who are quite frequently wrong both in their premises and conclusions, and secondly those who speak less frequently, and never unless they have something of value to say, but who by reason of careful study and patient investigation are almost invariably right in their action." Senator Page belongs in the class last mentioned.

Those who have watched the course of the two great parties as represented in the Senate must have observed that the Republican party has been composed of men who have done their own thinking and maintained a self-respecting independence. Caucus action is not tolerated among them.

On the other hand, the caucus system has long been in vogue in the Democratic party, and its binding authority upon its members has been declared superior to their individual conscience and judgment. This has been conspicuously so under the present administration. That party since coming into power has devoted itself almost exclusively to the work of securing the adoption of purely administration measures, dictated at the White House, approved by the caucus, and pushed through the Senate by sheer force of numbers.

In the meantime, a vast volume of business, less spectacular in character but vitally important to the welfare of the nation, has been under consideration by the appropriate committees, at the meetings of which the Republican members, trained to the importance of this work, have been faithful in their attendance while, to a lamentable degree, the Democratic members have been conspicuous by their absence. When it is remembered that the character of the work done by the Senate committees is so fully recognized by that body that more than 80 percent of the measures favorably considered are adopted

upon their recommendations, and without debate, the importance of individual attention to committee work cannot be overestimated.

These observations are preliminary to, and intended to give force to the statement that no Senator of my acquaintance has more consistently attended meetings of committees of which he is a member than Senator Page, and no Senator has given more serious, laborious investigation and thought to the problems under consideration than has he.

In a single term of service Senator Page has, in addition to less important committees, been assigned to Agriculture and Forestry, Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Indian Affairs, and Naval Affairs, all of which rank high in importance, and on each of which he has done exceptional work. Should the Senate again become Republican, he would undoubtedly become chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, one of vast importance both to the nation and to the individual states, and a position which was held by Senator Proctor at the time of his death. In this connection I want also to say, what is not generally known, that the Committee on Indian Affairs demands more time and attention, presents more complex problems to be solved, is more exacting in its demands upon the time and patience and integrity of its members, than almost any other one of the Senate committees. It has been customary to assign one New England Senator to this committee with the thought that, as a representative of a state unaffected by Indian legislation, perhaps his service would be of special value in protecting both the nation and the Indian wards of the nation against frauds and loss. The late Senator Platt of Connecticut stood for years as a rock of defence against encroachments upon the rights of both. When he, by reason of other public duties, was compelled to relinquish that work I was, at his request, assigned to the vacancy thus created. Later my time was demanded in other directions and Senator Page took the laboring oar and has spent nights as well as days of faithful but inconspicuous work in perfecting Indian legislation.

But I want to call special attention to his work as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor. He early gave attention to the subject of Vocational Education and, as some question has been raised as to the degree of credit to which he

is entitled, I do not hesitate to say that when that measure becomes a law, as it surely will, he will be as much entitled to credit in securing its adoption as Senator Morrill was entitled to credit in connection with the establishment of the Land Grant Colleges. Senator Page worked substantially alone upon this measure for a period of two or three years. He gave it his time, his effort, and his means. He put himself in touch with educators in every part of the nation, published their views to the world, made them known to the Senate and, by his tireless and resistless energy, impressed that body with the importance of the movement. His speech of July 5th, 1912, was a most comprehensive presentation of the question. It has been the fountain of information from which educators and statesmen have since drawn their material in advocacy of the measure. Its value was so apparent that the Senate, on the day of its delivery, ordered it printed as a public document, and thousands of copies have been distributed in every part of the country.

In the 63rd Congress the bill passed the Senate as the result of Senator Page's persistent efforts, but it did not pass the House that time because of peculiar political conditions then existing. But in the present Congress the bill was again introduced, considered by the Committee on Education and Labor and heartily endorsed by the Democratic members (now in the majority) as well as the Republican members of that committee, and was again favorably reported to the Senate. On July 24th, 1916, Senator Page again addressed the Senate at length in advocacy of this measure and a few days later Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, Chairman of the Committee, expressed the hope that an hour might be given in which, "with the aid of the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Page)" the bill might be fully presented and brought to a vote. In his remarks at this time Senator Smith stated his recognition of the fact that had the Senate remained Republican, Senator Page would have remained the leader and he the helper, and added, "I . . . almost regret that we have a Democratic majority and that he is not in charge of the bill instead of myself." In the debate which followed, Senator Thomas of Colorado, referring to the measure as a monument to Senator Page's career, said, "I am sure it will keep his memory fresh and green in the hearts of a grateful posterity."

At that time the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill,

in charge of Senator John Walter Smith of Maryland, was the unfinished business, and it was upon an appeal made to him by Senator Page, in the course of the debate, that consent was given that the Appropriation Bill be temporarily laid aside that a vote might be taken upon the Vocational Education Bill. This was done and the measure passed the Senate by a unanimous vote.

As a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, Senator Page has on all occasions been present at its meetings and has taken an active part in shaping up the important legislation which that committee has, in latter years, had under consideration. The most important piece of legislation recently emanating from that committee is what is known as the Rural Credits Bill and, in view of the fact that his opposition to that measure has been the subject of criticism, I want to say that I fully share his views and hold to the opinion that the reasons given by him for his action, and which have been published by the Vermont press, are sound, and that time will justify his position.

I do not know how I can better indicate Senator Page's general standing in the Senate than to adopt the language of Senator Lodge when he said, "His ability and activity in the work of the Senate are unquestioned by any one who is familiar with the work of that body."

I have written more at length than I intended because it seemed necessary in order to set the Senator's record right regarding his measure providing for vocational education. No one less intimately associated with him than I have been can properly comprehend the drafts which have been made upon his vitality in his work for the advancement of that measure. For a period of two or three years it occupied his thought and dominated his life, and to have twice secured its passage through the Senate is an honor which must in some degree repay him for his many anxieties and tireless efforts.

I am glad to be able to write as I have done; both because of the personal friendship that has existed between Senator Page and myself for many years, and because justice demands a truthful statement of the facts as they exist.

Sincerely yours,

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WM. P. DILLINGHAM.

IF THE FACTS IN OUR
BOOKLET HAVE CONVINC-
ED YOU THAT A TRUE AND
TRIED PUBLIC SERVANT
IS WORTHY OF BEING
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AT THE PRIMARIES ON

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